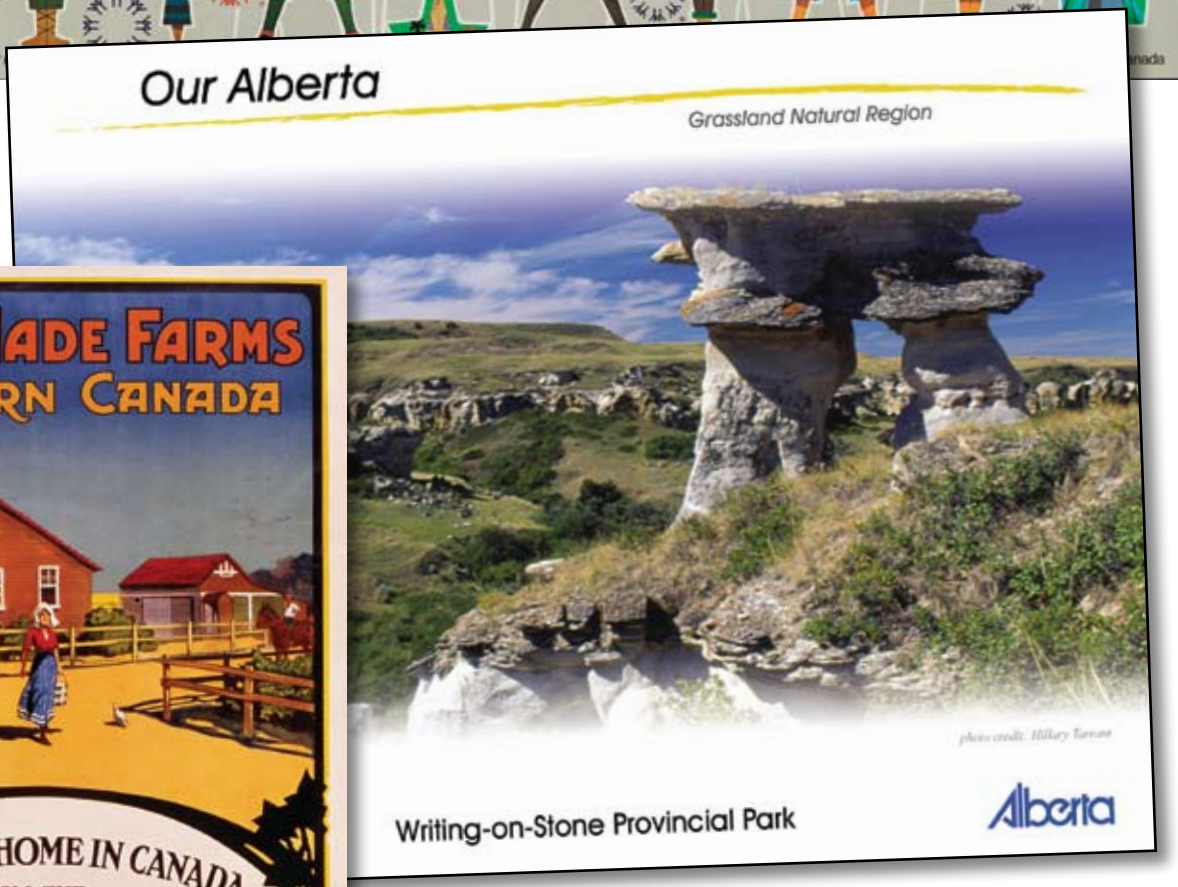
# Chapter 13 Visions of Canada



READY MADE FARMS
IN WESTERN CANADA
GET YOUR HOME IN CANADA
FROM THE
CANADIAN PACIFIC
SPECIAL FARMS ON VIRGIN SOIL
NEAR THE RAILWAY
AND CLOSE TO SCHOOLS, MARKETS, CHURCHES &c.
ARE PREPARED EACH YEAR FOR
BRITISH FARMERS OF MODERATE CAPITAL
PAYMENTS IN EASY INSTALMENTS
FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS APPLY:—

Figure 13-1 At different times, the posters on this page have been used to promote aspects of Canada. The Canadian Pacific Railway poster at left was created in the early 20th century and was designed to attract British farmers to Canada. The poster in the middle is a contemporary poster used by Alberta's Ministry of Tourism, Parks, Recreation and Culture. And the poster at the top was used to advertise Expo 67, a world's fair held in Montréal to celebrate Canada's centennial. All were created to give people at home and abroad a sense of Canada and its values.

## CHAPTER ISSUE

**To what extent have visions of Canadian identity evolved?**

THE POSTERS ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE represent visions of Canada. Each is from a different time in the country's history, but all three offer idealized answers to this question: What is Canada?

When individuals, groups, businesses, and governments try to capture the identity of a country in a single image, their visions frequently differ, often because their goals differ. The poster created by the Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, was designed to attract settlers to the West. It shows a Canada that railway officials believed would appeal to British immigrants.

Examine the images on the previous page and think about how they reflect evolving visions of Canada. Then respond to the following questions:

- What does each poster tell you about the image of Canada those who commissioned it wanted to convey?
- Can a single poster or image provide enough information about a country or people to represent everyone? Should it be required to do this? What elements of Canadian identity do you believe have been left out of each poster?
- To what extent do you think the posters show a real, imagined, or purposely fabricated view of Canadian identity?
- Do any of the images match your vision of Canada? If so, how? If not, what image(s) would you include on a poster advertising Canada?

**KEY TERMS**

**responsible government**

### LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will respond to the following questions as you explore the extent to which visions of Canada have evolved:

- What is Canada?
- How and why did early visions of Canada emerge?
- To what extent did various early visions of Canada meet people's needs?
- How is the evolution of various visions of Canada reflected in the country today?

### My Journal on Nationalism

Keeping in mind the visions of Canada represented in the posters on the previous page, use words or images — or both — to express your current ideas on changing visions of national identity. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this final related issue.

# What is Canada?

**Voices**

It is our outrageous dimensions that give shape and reason to our identity as Canadians. While no single factor forms a nation's character, winter's dominance, and the North that symbolizes it, rank among Canada's most potent influences.

*— Peter C. Newman, historian and journalist, 1990*

National identity involves a sense of belonging to a collective or community. When a nation has a clearly defined identity, individuals and groups who have internalized this identity are much more likely to affirm and promote a single identifiable identity.

Nationalism and identity are often related. People may define themselves in terms of the identity of the collective or nation to which they feel most closely connected. And just as aspects of your personal identity change as you grow and reconsider your values and goals, so, too, do aspects of national identity.

Which do you find easiest to define — your personal, group, collective, or national identity? Explain your response.

## Differing Visions of Canada

Canadians have been trying to define Canada's identity since before Confederation. Some, for example, argue that certain beliefs, values, and traditions make Canadians different from citizens of other countries. Others say that Canada includes many identities. Still others argue that there is no such thing as a Canadian identity. Those who believe this say that Canada is so big and includes people from so many cultural backgrounds that Canadians have little in common. Though they acknowledge the existence of a nation-state called Canada, they do not believe that a Canadian nation exists.

Some, such as comedian Mike Myers, argue that Canadians are best described as "not being" something else. They say, for example, that Canadians are "not American" or "not British." Myers once said, "Canada is the essence of not being. Not English, not American, it is the mathematic of not being."

Others prefer to describe what Canadians "are." Political journalist Susan Delacourt, for example, wrote: "Bilingualism, multiculturalism, and religious and political pluralism are all part of the complicated mix that we call Canadian society . . . To be Canadian means to be willing to shrug off your own identity so you can imagine what it's like to be someone else."

When Delacourt wrote about being willing to "shrug off" your own identity, did she mean that you must abandon your identity? Explain your response.

Figure 13-2 Until 1965, Canada did not have its own official flag. In 1964, Prime Minister Lester Pearson suggested that Canada adopt a design. In the bottom photograph, a committee that reviewed thousands of designs meets to narrow down the choices. In the other photograph, a university student presents his choice to Pearson. Do you think the flag that was finally adopted adequately reflects Canada's identity, or would another design be more appropriate?

## Canadian Identity and Geography

Canadian history is full of stories about how people have struggled to either tame or adapt to nature. Novelist Margaret Atwood, for example, has said that "survival" is the word that distills "the essence" of Canada. Some have argued that Canadians are defined by their country's vast open spaces, its relatively small and widely dispersed population, its climate, and its northerliness. Like Peter C. Newman, who is quoted in "Voices" on the previous page, these people believe that Canada's rugged geography is fundamental to the Canadian spirit.

**Web Connection**

To see photographs of sites linked to Albertan and Canadian identity, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

## One Canada

In 1956, John Diefenbaker, who would later become prime minister, said, "I have one love — Canada; one purpose — Canada's greatness; one aim — Canadian unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific." Those who identify with Diefenbaker's vision of one Canada believe that Canadians, regardless of their ethnic, cultural, language, and regional differences, are committed to living together as a civic nation in one political unit: the nation-state that began at Confederation.

## Pluralistic and Multicultural

The Canadian government describes one element of Canada's identity as "bilingual within a multicultural context." People who support this vision say that Canada's diversity *is* its identity. They believe that Canadians respect and encourage differences. This vision of Canada implies that Canadians are free to maintain their traditional cultures and languages — because Canada is a mosaic of identities.

## Communities and Nations within a Nation

In 1979, Joe Clark, who was then leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, said, "Governments make the nation work by recognizing that we are fundamentally a community of communities." And in 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper proclaimed that the Québécois constitute a "nation within a united Canada." This statement acknowledged that the Québécois have a collective identity that is different from that of other peoples in Canada — but it also says that they are still part of the larger Canadian nation. These visions of Canadian identity suggest that many different national identities coexist within Canada.

One of the derivations proposed for the word Canada is a Portuguese phrase meaning "nobody here." The etymology of the word Utopia is very similar, and perhaps the real Canada is an ideal with nobody in it. The Canada to which we really do owe loyalty is the Canada that we have failed to create . . . our identity, like the real identity of all nations, is the one that we have failed to achieve. It is expressed in our culture, but not attained in our life . . . the uncreated identity of Canada may be after all not so bad a heritage to take with us.

*— Northrop Frye, Canadian professor and literary critic, in* The Modern Century, *1967*

Does the existence of many differing visions of Canadian identity mean that trying to define Canada is an exercise in futility?

## Reflect and Respond

Use words or pictures — or both — to describe the identity of one of the groups or collectives that you are part of. You may, for example, choose your family, school, club, or community. Illustrate the characteristics that distinguish your group from others.

Then review the visions of Canadian identity offered by various people. Which of the visions of Canada do you think most closely reflects the country today? Explain your response. If you think that none of these visions captures today's Canadian identity, identify another vision that you think is more accurate.

How do you think this vision will change as Canadian identity evolves over the next 25 years?

# Comparing Various Narratives



FOCUS ON SKILLS

Narratives relate past events — and often reveal what was important to a culture at a particular time. A narrative may reveal an individual's point of view, or it may reflect the perspective of an institution or collective.

The narrator's point of view may also affect how she or he remembers an event. As a result, narratives written by different people about the same event may be very different. American editor and writer Tom Bissell said, "This does not make the authors of those narratives liars; it makes them servants of fallible human memory and perception."

Your description of a school event, for example, may be different from that of a classmate. The purpose of your narrative may also affect your description. In an e-mail message to a friend, you might describe an event one way. But an account written for your community newspaper would probably be different.

The narratives on the following page set out two visions of Canadian national identity. The following steps can help you examine, compare, and analyze these narratives — and others you will encounter as you progress through this final related issue.

## Steps to Comparing Various Narratives

### Step 1: Ask questions

To effectively compare narratives, you must sift through the words and identify the narrators' points of view or perspectives. A chart like the one on this page can help you do this.

### Step 2: Read the narratives

Each of the two narratives on the following page comments on national identity in Canada. Read both to develop a sense of what they say. Then read them again. This time, jot point-form notes in response to the questions on the chart.

Were you able to answer all the questions? If not, read the pieces a third time. Fill in responses you may have missed, and make notes about information you still need to know and questions you would like to ask the writers.

### Step 3: Practise comparing

Examine your notes or chart to find similarities and differences. As you do this, asking yourself questions like the following can help deepen your understanding:

- Does the narrator believe that nationalism is an internalized feeling or that it springs from external sources, such as political groups, books, school, the Internet, and various media?
- Do the narratives include statements that suggest that the writers agree — or disagree — with each other?

Narratives do not always include all the information needed to conduct an effective comparison. After reading the narratives, ask yourself the following questions:

- What further evidence would I like to see in support of the views presented?
- Do I need to know more about the narrators, the context in which the narratives were written, or the sources the narrators used? Where would I begin to look for this missing information?

**Comparing Various Narratives**

| Questions | Richard Gwyn | Edward Greenspon |
|---|---|---|
| What is the writer's purpose? | | |
| Who is the audience? | | |
| What is the context? (e.g., When, where, and why was the piece written? What was the narrator's occupation at the time? What groups did the narrator belong to?) | | |
| How does the narrative fit with what I already know? | | |
| Does the narrative reflect an objective reality or a well-accepted interpretation of events? | | |
| What biases are evident? | | |
| Does the narrative support or challenge my own biases? | | |
| Does the narrator's use of language affect my judgment of the narrative's validity? | | |
| What elements of the narrative are convincing — or unconvincing? | | |

### Narrative 1

**Richard Gwyn** is a journalist and political commentator. Born and raised in Britain, Gwyn lives in Britain and Canada. The following excerpt is from his 1996 book, *Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*, which describes how Canada and Canadians changed when Brian Mulroney was prime minister from 1984 to 1993.

> All nation-states exist therefore as exercises in the collective imagination. They exist because their people want to have something they can call their own . . .
>
> Nation-states then fulfilled themselves by protecting their citizens . . . [but] most nation-states have done a good deal more for their citizens: They have looked after them, economically and socially . . .
>
> Our provider-state is being hollowed out . . . An entire new generation of young people and middle-aged self-employed are learning how to provide for themselves so that they no longer need the kind of state that's been around for half a century . . . The Canadian state . . . will never again be there for us in the way it has been throughout the lifetimes of almost all Canadians now alive . . .
>
> Nation states continue to command loyalty because people want to belong to them. How long, though, can this loyalty be sustained once it becomes clear that nation-state governments no longer possess the authority and power to reciprocate loyalty? . . .
>
> We aren't rooted in ethnicity. Our history no longer engages us. Almost all of our protective external walls have crumbled . . .
>
> Without a common ethnic identity, without much remembered (or imagined) history, without external walls, the Canadian community either exists as a political entity within which all who live here act as citizens . . . or there is no particular reason for the Canadian community to continue to exist at all.

### Narrative 2

Born in Montreal, **Edward Greenspon** studied journalism at Carleton University and completed a master's degree in politics and government at the London School of Economics. Greenspon was editor-in-chief of *The Globe and Mail* when several of this newspaper's writers fanned out across the country to find out what young Canadian adults were thinking and doing. The following excerpt is from Greenspon's foreword to the resulting book, which was published in 2004 and titled *The New Canada*.

> A new confidence has taken hold among Canadians and with it a new form of nationalism is flowering. This is not the exclusionary economic nationalism of old – not the "we must close the shutters against American influence" kind – nor is it the exclusionary ethnic form of nationalism so often evident in other places around the world.
>
> Rather, Canada is indeed blazing the trail of 21st-century nations: globally engaged, socially liberal, culturally diverse. After years of struggling for an international identity, Canada has found its unique voice in the chorus of nations.

#### Vocabulary Tip

"To compare" means to examine and analyze similarities and differences.

"To contrast" means to examine and analyze only differences.

**Summing Up**

As you complete this final related issue, you will encounter many examples of narratives that recount events from various points of view and perspectives. Using the comparison strategies you have learned will help you compare these narratives and gain a deeper understanding of ideas and events that have affected Canadians' sense of national identity.

# How and why did early visions of Canada emerge?

Web Connection

To find out more about Robert Baldwin, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, and responsible government, go this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Concepts of independence and freedom, as well as a desire for self-determination, often provide a foundation for the national identity of former colonies. Think, for example, about the United States. The chorus of its national anthem concludes with these words: "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." Many Americans identify strongly with these words.

Canada also evolved from a desire for independence, freedom, and self-determination. Step by step, through rebellions, elections, skirmishes, and debates, Canada gained independence from Britain. As this happened, Canada's citizens conceived many visions of what the country was — and what it could be.

Does any phrase from "O Canada" resonate with Canadians in the same way as the final chorus of "The Star-Spangled Banner" resonates with many Americans? Explain your response.

## Working Together to Achieve Responsible Government

In the early decades of the 19th century, many colonists in British North America wanted a greater say in their own affairs, which were controlled by Britain. In 1841, the British government merged Upper Canada, which was mostly anglophone, and Lower Canada, which was mostly Francophone, into a single province called Canada. Upper Canada, which is today southern Ontario, was renamed Canada West, and Lower Canada, which is today southern Québec, was renamed Canada East.

Figure 13-3 This monument on Parliament Hill in Ottawa commemorates the achievements of Robert Baldwin (left) and Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine. The monument was created in 1914 by Walter Allward, who also designed the Vimy Memorial. What message(s) might a monument to Baldwin and LaFontaine be intended to convey to Canadians?

The new province had one legislative assembly, made up of an equal number of representatives from Canada West and Canada East. But the population of Canada East was much higher than that of Canada West, and English was the only language allowed in the legislature. The British plan was to assimilate Francophones into anglophone culture.

In response, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, a political leader from Canada East, joined forces with Robert Baldwin of Canada West to demand **responsible government** — a government that answered to the people rather than to British-appointed governors. In addition, LaFontaine wanted Francophone culture to survive — and Baldwin supported this goal.

The two knew that they would need to set aside their cultural differences and find a way of co-operating. Baldwin expressed this idea in a letter to LaFontaine: "There is, and must be, no question of races." By 1848, the two had succeeded. French was restored as an official language of the legislature, and in the following years, Britain also granted responsible government to other North American colonies, such as New Brunswick.

Baldwin and LaFontaine's successful bicultural initiative and their vision of Canada as an anglophone–Francophone partnership became a model for future generations.

## Confederation: A New Vision of Canada

In 1861, a civil war erupted in the United States as the states in the North and the South fought over differing visions of their country. When this war ended in 1865, some Americans believed that Canada should be annexed — incorporated into the United States. In 1866, the American House of Representatives even passed an act proposing that the U.S. take over all Britain's colonies in North America. In addition, the Fenians, a militant Irish-American group, were conducting armed raids into Canada. Their goal was to capture and hold the British colonies until British forces withdrew from Ireland.

At the same time, the economy of British North America was suffering because of restrictive trade laws put in place by Britain and the U.S. And Francophones in Canada East were also afraid that their voices were being drowned out by the flood of immigration to Canada West, which had grown so much that Francophones were outnumbered by anglophones.

To deal with these issues, a new coalition of political leaders emerged in the 1860s. Led by John A. Macdonald and George-Étienne Cartier, their goal was to achieve independence and preserve Canada, including the French language and culture. They envisioned a union of Britain's North American colonies — and after long negotiations, a new country called Canada was created in 1867. It comprised the former province of Canada — which was divided into two new provinces, Ontario and Québec — as well as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The British North America Act, which created Canada, defined two levels of representative and responsible government. The federal government was to look after national affairs, and the four provincial governments would manage their own regional affairs. This arrangement ensured that Québec could affirm and promote the French language and culture of the province's Francophones.

At Confederation, Canada was a different country from what it is today. But as circumstances changed, and as events influenced people and policies, new visions of what it meant to be Canadian began to emerge.

Examine the illustrations on this page. Describe your reaction to both. If a map similar to that in Figure 13-5 appeared in an American newspaper today, how would you respond?

Why were the voices of First Nations people not part of this process?

Figure 13-4 This 1869 cartoon shows an early vision of Canada as a forceful country resisting American annexation. The bulldog is a British symbol. How would you interpret the presence of the man and the bulldog in the background?

Figure 13-5 This tongue-in-cheek portrayal of North America under U.S. control appeared in the *New York Times* in 1888.

# THE VIEW FROM HERE

In the years before Confederation, various visions of Canada emerged. Here are the ideas of three different people.

In 1849, **Shingwaukonse** led the Anishinabé who lived near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Concerned that the government had allowed mining companies to move onto his people's land, Shingwaukonse expressed a vision that protected his people's rights while allowing the mining companies to continue doing business — under specific conditions.

> The Great Spirit, we think, placed these rich mines on our lands, for the benefit of his red children,* so that their rising generation might get support from them when the animals of the woods should have grown too scarce for our subsistence. We will carry out, therefore, the good object of our Father, the Great Spirit. We will sell you the lands, if you will give us what is right and, at the same time, we want pay for every pound of mineral that has been taken off our lands, as well as for that which may hereafter be carried away.

* Shingwaukonse was using the language that was common at the time.

**Antoine-Aimé Dorion** was a Québec lawyer and politician. He favoured uniting Canada East and West but opposed a larger confederation. In 1865, Dorion's views sparked a debate over whether Canada should be a union of two nations — British and French — or a federation of equal provinces.

> This scheme proposes a union not only with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, but also with British Columbia and Vancouver's Island . . . It is evident . . . that it is intended eventually to form a legislative union of all the provinces . . . Perhaps the people of Upper Canada* think a legislative union a most desirable thing. I can tell those gentlemen that the people of Lower Canada* are attached to their institutions in a manner that defies any attempt to change them in that way. They will not change their religious institutions, their laws, and their language, for any consideration whatsoever.

* Though the names of Upper and Lower Canada had been officially changed, many people continued to use these former names.

Irish-born **Thomas D'Arcy McGee** was a Montréal politician, journalist, historian, and poet who supported Confederation. In 1860, McGee concluded a speech to the Legislative Assembly of Canada with the following words.

> I have spoken . . . with a sole, single desire for the increase, prosperity, freedom and honour of this incipient Northern nation . . . I look to the future of my adopted country with hope, though not without anxiety. I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean.
>
> I see it quartered into many communities, each disposing of its internal affairs, but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse, and free commerce.
>
> I see within the round of that shield the peaks of the western mountains and the crests of the eastern waves – the winding Assinaboine, the five-fold lakes, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Saguenay, the St. John and the Basin of Minas – by all these flowing waters in all the valleys they fertilize, in all the cities they visit in their courses, I see a generation of industrious, contented moral men, free in name and in fact – men capable of maintaining, in peace and in war, a constitution worthy of such a country.

## Explorations

1. In a single sentence for each, summarize the vision of Canada presented by these speakers.
2. Which of these early visions continue to be reflected in today's notions of Canada? Explain the connections you have detected.

## Evolving Visions of Canada

As Canada's territory and population expanded after Confederation, visions of the country began to evolve. John A. Macdonald's dream of a country stretching from sea to sea, for example, became reality when the Canadian Pacific Railway opened Western Canada to settlement. But at first, few people were interested.

To pave the way, the federal government negotiated treaties with the First Nations of the West. Many traditional Aboriginal lands became government property and First Nations peoples were moved to reserves.

Nevertheless, only a trickle of immigrants arrived in the West before Wilfrid Laurier became prime minister in 1896. Laurier believed that an unsettled West meant an undefended West, and his Liberal government decided to do more to attract settlers.

Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior in Laurier's government, was handed responsibility for achieving this goal. At first, Sifton wanted only British and American immigrants because he believed they would make the best homesteaders — so he established immigrant-recruiting offices in England and the United States.

But the Prairie population was still not increasing fast enough, so Sifton also set up immigration offices in non-English-speaking European countries. As a result, communities of Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, Finns, Norwegians, and others began to appear on the Prairies.

As more people arrived in the West, new provinces were created and joined Confederation. The Prairie population grew from a sparse 1.3 million people in 1911 to 2 million by 1921. In Alberta, the population density in 1901 averaged 0.29 people per 2.6 square kilometres; by 1921, this had increased to 2.37 people.

This dramatic population increase changed the identity of Canada. As the country became more multicultural, people of British background were no longer the dominant cultural group. Francophones were also affected. Most of the non-English-speaking immigrants chose to learn English, which meant that Francophones became an even smaller minority.

### VOICES

Let me tell you, my fellow countrymen, that all the signs point this way, that the 20th century shall be the century of Canada and Canadian development . . . Canada shall be the star towards which all men who love progress and freedom shall come.

*— Wilfrid Laurier, prime minister of Canada, 1904*

Figure 13-6 Clifford Sifton was the government minister responsible for attracting settlers to the West. In 1903, he authorized the publication of a book of cartoons providing information for settlers. The cover cartoon, shown in the photograph, depicts John Bull, representing England, and Uncle Sam, representing the United States, carrying bags of money to invest in Western Canada. What image of Canada did this cartoon portray?

### Reflect and Respond

Think about how immigration in the early 20th century changed Canada's national identity and laid the foundation for today's multicultural society. In an increasingly globalized world, does diversity provide a solid foundation for building a national identity?

Create a T-chart like the one shown. Then think about countries like Japan and Korea, in which people share similar ethnic and cultural roots. In the first column, list the advantages of situations like this. Then think about Canada's diversity — and in the second column, list the advantages of situations like this.

With a partner or small group, discuss your T-chart. If necessary, revise your chart to reflect ideas arising from this discussion.

| Similarity, Diversity, and National Identity | |
|---|---|
| **Advantages of Ethnic and Cultural Similarity** | **Advantages of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity** |
| | |
| | |

# To what extent did various early visions of Canada meet people's needs?

By the time Clifford Sifton's immigration push came to an end in the early 20th century, Canada had been set on the path toward multiculturalism. But the way was not always smooth, and in a vast and varied country, some groups believed that their needs were not being met.

## Challenges and Opportunities for Francophones

Figure 13-6 Languages in Canada

| Language | 1867* | 1931* | 2001* |
|---|---|---|---|
| French | 31% | 27% | 23% |
| English | 61% | 56% | 60% |
| Other | 8% | 17% | 18% |

* Percentages have been rounded.

Do the patterns suggested by the statistics in Figure 13-6 suggest that the arrangement worked out at Confederation should be changed?

As the ratio of Francophones in the Canadian population shrank during the early 20th century and as new, largely English-speaking provinces joined Confederation, the power and influence of Québécois began to decline. The partnership that had marked the Baldwin–LaFontaine and Macdonald–Cartier coalitions in the 1800s seemed to be collapsing under the weight of an influx of immigrants who were either already English speakers or chose to learn English.

As a result of their status as a shrinking minority, many Québec Francophones came to believe that they had three options:

- accept their new position within Canada
- promote a vision of Québec as a strong, autonomous province within Canada
- promote a vision of a sovereign Québec

### The Growth of French-Canadian Nationalism

In the decades after Confederation, many Québécois were suspicious of government policies that encouraged immigration. They believed that most immigrants would integrate into anglophone society and that Francophones would be outnumbered. This possibility threatened their position as equal partners in Confederation.

Henri Bourassa, for example, was at various times between 1896 and 1932 a member of Parliament or a member of the Québec legislature. Bourassa believed that equality between Francophone and anglophone cultures in Canada was essential if Francophones were to continue to support Confederation. For Bourassa, this meant that Québécois must have a high degree of control over their own affairs.

But as Canada's identity changed, Bourassa became increasingly anti-British. During World War I, for example, he helped lead Francophone opposition to conscription, saying that people of French heritage should not be required to fight in "Britain's wars."

Figure 13-7 On May 24, 1917, Montréal residents took to the streets to protest conscription. This was just one of many anti-conscription protests that took place in Québec. Outside Québec, opposing conscription was often interpreted as unpatriotic. Was this a fair assessment?

Though some anglophones and allophones — immigrants whose first language is neither English nor French — were against conscription, opposition was strongest among Francophone Québécois. This drove a wedge between many Québec Francophones and much of the rest of Canada. Many Francophones believed that their interests were being ignored.

Wilfrid Laurier was no longer prime minister, but he was concerned about the divide created by the conscription issue. In a 1917 letter to a friend, he wrote, "The racial chasm which is now opening at our feet may perhaps not be overcome for many generations."

Québec nationalism is rooted in the desire of Francophone Québécois to affirm and promote their identity and French heritage. The Catholic religion was an important part of this heritage, and for much of the first half of the 20th century, Lionel Groulx, a professor, priest, and historian, was at the centre of a nationalist movement with the church as its focus. Groulx believed that a separate state might be necessary to achieve freedom and independence.

When the conscription issue arose again during World War II, the debate was nearly as divisive as it had been in World War I — and some Canadians began to question the possibility of a unified country.

Canada emerged from World War II as an increasingly urban industrial country. In 1901, for example, 37 per cent of Canadians lived in cities; by 1951, this number had risen to 62 per cent. Like many other Canadians, Québécois also moved to cities.

How might moving to a city affect people's sense of identity?

Long-serving Québec premier Maurice Duplessis had picked up on the ideas of Groulx and others. In the mid-20th century, Duplessis fought for greater autonomy and focused Québécois on the traditional values of church and community. But by the time he died in 1959, many Francophone Québécois were ready to embrace what came to be called the Quiet Revolution. They wanted to modernize Québec by improving social programs and the education system — but they also wanted to affirm and promote the French language and the culture of the province's Francophones.

To achieve their goals, many believed that Québec must control immigration, social programs, industry, job creation, language laws, and some aspects of foreign policy. For some, sovereignty was the only solution — and in 1968, René Lévesque and others founded the Parti Québécois to promote independence.

In the same year, Pierre Trudeau was elected prime minister. Trudeau was Québécois, but his vision of the country was federalist. He believed in "two official languages and a pluralist society" — and in 1969, his government passed the Official Languages Act, which protected the language rights of all Francophones in Canada.

The debate over Québec's place in Canada continues to evolve. For many Québécois, the challenge is to maintain their distinct identity in a continent of non-Francophones. For the federal government, the challenge is to unite a diverse country while accommodating a changing population.

**CheckBack**

You read about the Québec sovereignty movement in Chapter 3.

**FYI**

Since the Quiet Revolution, the focus of Québec nationalism has shifted away from religion. According to a 2004 poll, 83 per cent of Québec respondents identified themselves as Catholic — but 66 per cent also said that religion was unimportant in public life. And 59 per cent said it was unimportant in private life.

Figure 13-8 John Collins of the *Montreal Gazette* created this cartoon in 1964. What message about Canadian unity was Collins sending? Does this message remain relevant today?

Web Connection

To find out more about Canadian immigration over the years, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

## Immigration and the New Canada

Until the 1960s, Canadian policies favoured immigrants from Northern Europe and the United States. The experiences of immigrants from other places, such as China, Caribbean countries, and Italy, were often difficult and sometimes traumatic. Many of these immigrants felt as if they were excluded from visions of Canada and were not regarded as Canadians, even when they had been born in Canada or had lived in Canada for many years.

## Taking Turns

### What vision of Canada meets your needs?

The students responding to the question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution.

Harley

My people belong to our own nation. But the Kainai are also connected to Canada because of the treaty our ancestors signed with the British queen. Some Elders think that this deal was broken. My grandmother tells me how her culture and language were stolen when the government forced her to go to residential school. Canada hasn't always served the needs of the Kainai — or even taken the needs of my people into consideration. Still, I think that we can be both Kainai and Canadian. I think that a truly pluralistic Canada — a nation of many nations, each with loyalty to their nation and to Canada, and with true respect for other nations — could meet my needs.

*E pluribus unum* — out of many, one — is the American motto, and that says it all. One thing I like about the States is that nearly everyone wants to be part of one nation. This isn't true of Canada. So many groups want to have their own identity or to separate that it's hard to keep the country together. But then I think about what's happening here in Fort McMurray, where people from all over Canada, and from others places, too, are working hard toward a goal: pulling oil out of the tar sands. Everyone in this country, no matter where they come from, is working hard to make Canada the best place it can be, for everyone. We're all moving forward together.

Rick

Jane

People talk about Canada as a multicultural country, but this vision doesn't match the reality — and the reality sure doesn't serve ***my*** needs. I look at my family's past and see how they were treated in the United States and then how hard it was for them when they arrived in Nova Scotia. Even today, it isn't easy to be black in North America, even in a supposedly multicultural society like Canada's. The Soviet Union split up and Czechoslovakia divided in two when circumstances changed. Maybe the same thing should happen in Canada, because Confederation is an idea whose time has passed.

## Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Rick, and Jane are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How important is it for Canadians to have a single coherent vision of themselves as a nation?

## Not Wanted in Canada

When navvies were needed to help build the Canadian Pacific Railway, Chinese immigrants were welcomed to Canada. In 1885, however, the federal government introduced the Chinese Immigration Act, which imposed a head tax of $50 on Chinese people who wanted to come to Canada. This tax rose to $100 in 1900, and by 1904, it was $500. Finally, in 1923, the government banned nearly all immigration from China.

Discriminated against by the government, Chinese Canadians, as well as immigrants from other Asian countries, were not allowed to vote or to hold certain jobs until after World War II. In the communities where they settled, they also suffered discrimination — and as a result, they often turned to one another for support. Many settled together in urban neighbourhoods, called Chinatowns, and formed alliances like the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Foundation in British Columbia.

Black immigrants from the United States suffered similar discrimination. Attracted by Clifford Sifton's advertising campaign, one group of black Americans immigrated to Saskatchewan in 1905. Others followed them to the Prairies to escape racism in their home states. This alarmed some Canadians, and the government tried to discourage these black immigrants. Advertising was removed from black American communities, and they were subjected to stricter medical tests than other immigrants.

In 1911, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier even banned the immigration of blacks for a year. Laurier's order said that the "Negro race . . . is deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada." This order was never enforced, because blacks stopped trying to immigrate to Western Canada.

These Chinese and black immigrants were excluded from visions of Canada at the time. So were many other groups, such as Doukhobors, Jews, and Ukrainians.

This discrimination continued for decades. Finally, in 1962, changes to the Immigration Act opened Canada's doors to people from all over the world. And in 1971, the federal government adopted a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," which once again altered Canada's identity. Despite this official policy, many immigrants and Canadians continue to believe that their needs are not being met.

### Voices

*I am in prison because I covet riches*
*Driven by poverty I sailed over here on the choppy sea.*
*If only I did not need to labour for money,*
*I would already have returned home to China.*

*— Anonymous poem written on a cell wall in the federal immigration building in Victoria, B.C.*

### Web Connection

To find out more about redress for the Chinese immigration policies of the 20th century and how the Canadian government responded in 2006, go to the following web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 13-9 Thomas Mapp and his family immigrated to Edmonton from Kansas in 1906. Along with a number of other black families, they later moved to a homestead in Amber Valley, where this photograph was taken in 1925. Why would immigrants tend to gather in communities with others of the same background?

IMPACT

# The Ukrainian Experience in Canada

IMPACT

Alexander and Anna Szpak and their three children were among the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants who swelled the population of the Prairies between 1900 and 1914. Like the Szpaks, many of the newcomers set to work carving out homesteads, a challenge that was filled with hardship. For the Szpaks and others who did not speak English, things were even harder. Many of their neighbours neither understood nor appreciated their traditions and customs — and they often felt isolated and lonely.

## Immigration

The Szpak family came from western Ukraine and settled in northeastern Alberta, where Alexander paid $10 for 64.7 hectares under the Dominion Lands Act. In return for this land, the Szpaks were required to clear a certain amount of property every year and to construct buildings. The work was backbreaking and life was hard. One winter, for example, both a son and a daughter died of tuberculosis.

Alexander was used to farming and hard work, but he found the soil and climate challenging. When the farm could not support his family, he travelled to Barkerville, British Columbia, to work in a gold mine. After working there for some time, he returned to the farm, where he began raising and selling draft horses.

## Discrimination

Like nearly 200 000 other Ukrainian immigrants, members of the Szpak family left behind a familiar identity to embrace a new one. But they often met hostility in their new country. Although Clifford Sifton believed that Ukrainians were the kind of hard-working, farm-savvy immigrants needed on the Prairies, many anglophone Canadians disagreed. Led by Conservative politicians, some English-language newspapers ridiculed the Ukrainian newcomers and called them names.

Harassment by newspapers, politicians, and neighbours made it hard for Ukrainian immigrants to integrate into their new communities and to get to know townspeople and neighbours whose heritage was not Ukrainian. In addition to the language barrier, immigrants from Ukraine also faced criticism for retaining their traditional customs and style of dress.

Figure 13-10 This photograph of a sod house was taken near Viking, Alberta, in the early 20th century. The first house of many Prairie homesteaders was either built completely of sod, like the one pictured, or had a sod roof.

## Internment

When World War I started in 1914, attitudes toward Ukrainian immigrants became even more hostile. At the time, Ukraine was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was allied with Germany. As a result, many immigrants from both Germany and parts of Austria-Hungary were labelled "enemy aliens" and required to register with the government, carry identity cards, and report to police at regular intervals.

About 80 000 Ukrainian immigrants found themselves classified as enemy aliens, and another 5000 were interned in 24 forced-labour camps across the country. Though some Canadians spoke out against this internment, many of the internees were forced to remain in the camps until 1920, two years after the war ended.

## Assimilation and Reclamation

Embittered and beaten down by their treatment, many of these Ukrainian immigrants lost or abandoned their history, culture, and language — their identity — as they tried to fit in to Canadian society. But today, many descendants of these immigrants are rediscovering the past, recognizing their rich heritage, and embracing traditions that were once integral to Ukrainian identity. Harvey Spak, for example, is Alexander and Anna Szpak's grandson. An Alberta artist and filmmaker, Spak uses a changed spelling of the family name. He told the story of his grandparents and other Ukrainian immigrants in "The Fullness of Time: Ukrainian Stories from Alberta," an episode in a documentary series about the immigrant experience in Canada.

Figure 13-11 Internment Camps, 1914–1920

## Explorations

1. With a partner, create a dialogue between Alexander or Anna Szpak and a recent immigrant to Canada. Include at least three exchanges — either questions or comments — that focus on comparing attitudes toward Ukrainians in the early 20th century with attitudes toward immigrants today. Ensure that your dialogue refers to the identity and the needs of immigrants. Present your dialogue to a small group or the class.
2. Build a family tree. You may focus on your own family or another family, or you may create a fictitious family. Fill in as many generations and details as you can.

On your family tree or in your detailed notes, identify dates that are significant in world, national, or regional history — and whether these events influenced the identity of the people on your family tree. Were they, for example, forced to move because of a war or conflict? Choose one element of your family tree to share with your classmates through a brief oral presentation, a computer software presentation, or a bulletin-board display.

## Asserting Aboriginal Rights

In Canada, Aboriginal nationalism revolves around the rights to self-determination, to self-government, to their relationship with the land, and to traditional ways of life, which may include hunting, fishing, and trapping. In the case of First Nations, many leaders say that these rights were negotiated in treaties — and many First Nations people have argued that the treaties give them the right to govern themselves within Canada.

If nationhood and self-determination mean creating separate and independent laws, which will take precedence — the laws of a First Nation or the laws of Canada?

As a historical nation, not a tribe, the Métis were and remain in the vanguard of asserting self-government rights as an Aboriginal people in Canada.

— *John Weinstein, adviser to Métis leaders, in* Quiet Revolution West: The Rebirth of Métis Nationalism, *2007*

### Métis Self-Government

John A. Macdonald's vision of an expanded Canada was made possible by the government's 1870 purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. But Macdonald's vision ignored the views of the Métis people living in the Red River area of what is now Manitoba. At the time, the Métis made up more than half the population of this area.

After taking up arms in 1869 and 1870, the Métis — with Louis Riel leading an independent provisional government — forced the federal government to address their concerns. Macdonald responded by pushing the Manitoba Act through Parliament. This act created the province of Manitoba, recognized the French and English languages as equal, upheld Aboriginal rights, and provided 566 500 hectares of land specifically for Métis people.

But disagreements arose over how to distribute this land. And while Manitoba's lieutenant-governor and the Métis wrangled over this, settlers started arriving — and the flood of immigration shifted the balance so that the Métis were outnumbered by people of European heritage.

The Métis felt cheated, and disagreements about land and rights to self-government continued until Riel led a second uprising in 1885. Riel was executed for his role in this resistance, and the Métis dream of self-determination was shattered.

Figure 13-12 Métis leader Louis Riel (seated at centre) and members of his provisional government posed for this photograph in 1870. For decades, most history books identified the Métis uprising of 1885 as the North West Rebellion. But recently, more people have been calling it the North West Resistance. What does this change suggest about visions of Canada?

Today, the Constitution recognizes the Métis as an Aboriginal people with a common history and traditional lands and culture, and they have re-emerged as a nation that desires self-determination. But unlike First Nations people, the Métis were never forced onto reserves, so their land base is scattered.

John Weinstein identified the problem in *Quiet Revolution West: The Rebirth of Métis Nationalism*: "The Métis of Red River and the North-West spurned the protection of the Crown as a price for retaining some of their land and resource rights because it thwarted their ability to be self-governing. In the end, Canada used the Métis demand for more — that is, responsible government for the West in the form of Métis-majority provinces — as an excuse to give them less, much less."

## Treaties, the Indian Act, and Self-Determination

In 1876, Parliament passed the Indian Act, which gave the federal government control over every aspect of the lives of First Nations people. The act defined who was an "Indian" and denied full citizenship rights to "Indians." First Nations people were allowed to become full citizens — but only if they gave up their treaty rights.

The Indian Act was presented as a way to protect First Nations' well-being, which had been guaranteed in treaties, but it was also designed to encourage assimilation. Read the words of Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpel in "Voices." How did First Nations' understanding of their relationship with Canada differ from the government's understanding?

Over the years, the Indian Act was amended many times — but First Nations people were rarely consulted about the changes. Then, in the 1970s, First Nations united in the National Indian Brotherhood, the forerunner of the Assembly of First Nations, to persuade Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien to abandon their proposal to end the federal government's treaty obligations. This battle marked the beginning of a new period of Aboriginal political strength.

Today, many First Nations are in the process of settling land claims, which often involve asserting their rights to traditional lands and to govern themselves. The Nisga'a of northwestern British Columbia, for example, had never signed a treaty, though they had been trying since 1890. Between 1927 and 1951, they could do nothing because a law made it illegal for First Nations to raise money to support land claims.

Once this law was repealed, the Nisga'a challenged the government in court. This action went to the Supreme Court of Canada, which ruled in 1973 that Aboriginal rights and title to land exist even if the government does not recognize them. In 1982, Canada's Constitution confirmed these rights.

The groundbreaking Supreme Court ruling paved the way for the settlement of land claims. The Nisga'a Final Agreement was one of the most important — and controversial. Some people believed that it gave the Nisga'a too much autonomy, while others believed that the Nisga'a had given up too much.

Figure 13-13 With other Nisga'a, Gary Alexcee, chief councillor of the village of Gingolx, celebrates passage of the Nisga'a Final Agreement in 2000. The agreement recognized the Nisga'a claim to 2019 square kilometres and their right to make their own decisions about social policy and resource development. The agreement also provided money to develop conservation measures and social and education programs.

### Voices

The First Nations view our relationship today as a continuation of the treaty relationship of mutuality where neither side can act unilaterally without consultation. This partnership is symbolized by the grandfather of all treaties, the Iroquois Confederacy Gus-wen-tah or two-row wampum between your ancestors and those of the Iroquois . . . First Nations and Europeans would travel in parallel paths down the symbolic river in their own vessels. The two-row wampum, which signifies "One River, Two Vessels," committed the newcomers to travel in their vessel and not attempt to interfere with our voyage.

*— Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpel, in* In the Rapids — Navigating the Future of First Nations, *1993*

**CheckBack**

You read about the rise of First Nations' nationalism during the 1970s in Chapter 2.

## Reflect and Respond

Early visions of Canada often ignored or actively discriminated against people whose language, culture, traditions, or ethnicity did not match mainstream ideas about the country. Choose one group who encountered this prejudice.

Then examine the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. If the Charter had existed at the time the group you chose encountered the prejudice, which clauses would have protected members of the collective against this prejudice?

Jot point-form notes about your ideas, then use these notes to write a statement that sums up your ideas.

# How is the evolution of various visions of Canada reflected in the country today?

One of the biggest changes in Canada over the past twenty years has been the emergence of a more deeply entrenched pan-Canadian national identity. Young Canadians, at least outside Quebec, are far more likely than older Canadians to define themselves as Canadian first, rather than in terms of their province.

*— Matthew Mendelsohn, political scientist, 2005*

As circumstances changed over time, visions of Canadian identity also changed. At one time, the dominant anglophone vision of the country tended to overshadow other possible visions. But in the last half of the 20th century, this began to change. French and English were confirmed as official languages, and Canada became an officially multicultural country.

A 2003 poll by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada found that 54 per cent of those surveyed agreed that multiculturalism made them feel proud to be Canadian. This sense of pride was even higher among people aged 18 to 30 — 66 per cent of respondents in this group took pride in Canada's multiculturalism.

## The Founding Nations Debate

For many years, schools taught students that Canada was created by the French and British. This popular catch phrase ignored Aboriginal peoples, who had lived in what is now Canada long before the Europeans arrived and the nation-state of Canada was created.

As the Aboriginal contribution to Canada became more widely recognized, some people began to refer to "three founding nations": Aboriginal people, French, and British. But not everyone accepts this idea. Some people argue that Aboriginal peoples were not a homogeneous — uniform — nation and did not participate in founding the nation-state of Canada in the same way as the French and English. The concept of three founding nations also excludes the contributions of immigrants from countries that were neither French nor British.

In a small group, brainstorm to come up with a catch phrase to replace "three founding nations" and accurately describe the contribution of the diverse peoples who have created the Canadian nation.

Figure 13-14 Immigrants' Sense of Canadian Identity

| Do you identify yourself as Canadian? Percentage Who Answered Yes. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrant Group | Arrived before 1991 | Arrived 1991–2001 | Second Generation |
| Black | 27.2% | 13.9% | 49.6% |
| Chinese | 42.0% | 30.6% | 59.5% |
| South Asian | 32.7% | 19.1% | 53.6% |
| Other visible minorities | 32.8% | 17.4% | 60.6% |
| Total visible minorities | 34.4% | 21.4% | 56.6% |
| White immigrants | 53.8% | 21.9% | 78.2% |

Source: Institute for Research on Public Policy

## The Multiculturalism Debate

Though many Canadians take pride in Canada's reputation as a diverse and multicultural society, a 2007 study by the Institute for Research on Public Policy showed that recent immigrants who belong to visible minority groups integrate more slowly into Canadian society than their white counterparts and feel less Canadian.

The responses of various immigrant groups to one of the study's questions are shown in Figure 13-14. Examine this chart. What patterns can you identify? Do these patterns influence your opinion about the success of multiculturalism in Canada? Do they influence your understanding of Canadian national identity?

Studies like the one shown in Figure 13-14 have sparked debate over the success of Canada's multicultural policies — and the wisdom of promoting diversity. Political commentator John Ibbitson believes that multiculturalism has helped Canada attract immigrants — and immigrants have helped the country's economy. "Multiculturalism . . . will be the all-important key to Canada's prosperity in the twenty-first century," Ibbitson wrote in *The Polite Revolution: Perfecting the Canadian Dream*.

Other cultural commentators, such as Neil Bissoondath, believe that the policy has failed. "The architects of the policy . . . were blind to the fact that their exercise in social engineering [manipulating people to take certain actions] was based on two essentially false premises," Bissoondath wrote in the *New Internationalist*. "First, it assumed that 'culture' in the larger sense could be transplanted. Second, that those who voluntarily sought a new life in a new country would wish to transport their cultures of origin."

Debates like the one over multiculturalism suggest that visions of Canada continue to evolve. Is this debate a sign of a healthy or an unhealthy society? Explain your response.

I was born and bred in this amazing land. I've always considered myself a Canadian, nothing more, nothing less, even though my parents come from Italy. How come we have acquired a hyphen? We have allowed ourselves to become divided along the line of ethnic origins, under the pretext of the "Great Mosaic."

*— Laura Sabia, feminist and columnist, 1978*

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

## Neil Bissoondath
## Challenging Multiculturalism

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

When successful novelist Neil Bissoondath published his 1994 non-fiction book, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, it sparked an uproar. In the book, Bissoondath — an immigrant himself — argued that multiculturalism is not as successful as many would like to believe. He charged that multiculturalism highlights the differences that divide Canadians rather than the similarities that unite them. As a result, it undermines a unified vision of Canada and encourages the isolation and stereotyping of cultural groups.

Born in Trinidad to a family with roots in India, Bissoondath immigrated to Canada in 1973 to study French literature — and was shocked by what he found. "I was seeking a new start in a land that afforded me that possibility," he wrote in the *New Internationalist*. "I was not seeking to live in Toronto as if I were still in Trinidad — for what would have been the point of emigration?"

Figure 13-15 In his fiction, novelist Neil Bissoondath often deals with global themes that focus on identity. His book *The Worlds Within Her* was nominated for a Governor General's Award in 1998.

Since *Selling Illusions* was published, Bissoondath has become an outspoken critic of official multiculturalism. At the same time, however, he believes that Canada must continue to welcome immigrants and to combat racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination.

To offset the effects of multiculturalism, he says that Canadians must develop a new vision of the country — "A Canada where no one is alienated with hyphenation. A nation of cultural hybrids, where every individual is unique and every individual is a Canadian, undiluted and undivided."

### Explorations

1. In your own words, summarize Neil Bissoondath's argument against multiculturalism. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate your level of agreement with his view (1 = disagree completely; 5 = agree completely). Explain the criteria you used to support your judgment.
2. "Sacred cow" is a term that describes ideas or institutions that are considered immune to criticism. In Canada, multiculturalism is often viewed as a sacred cow. Should people be allowed to challenge multiculturalism? Should people be allowed to challenge any sacred cow? Explain your judgment.

1. During the 1957 federal election campaign, economic adviser Merrill Menzies helped the Progressive Conservative Party develop its platform and strategy. Menzies offered voters a new vision of Canada. In his introduction to this vision, Menzies referred to John A. Macdonald's 19th-century National Policy, which included uniting Canada by building the CPR, attracting immigrants to the West, and protecting Canadian industry with high tariffs. Here is some of what Menzies said:

> From Confederation until the 1930s, there was a powerful unifying force in the nation . . .
> This unifying force was the challenge and the development of the West. It engendered a powerful but not xenophobic [foreigner hating] nationalism and was made possible and given shape and direction by Macdonald's National Policy. [Since then], we have had no national policy – and we have had no transcending sense of national purpose, no national myth, no unifying force. That is why I have proposed a new national policy – the NEW FRONTIER POLICY; a new national strategy . . . a new national myth – the "North" in the place of the "West."

   In a small group, discuss the possible meaning of the North as a "new frontier" and respond to the following questions:

   - On the basis of your knowledge of the development of Western Canada, what might a plan for the North look like?
   - What challenges and benefits could be expected when implementing this plan?
   - How might the Aboriginal peoples of the North respond?

   Jot notes about your responses, then discuss whether your group supports Menzies' idea. Share your group's conclusions with the class, explaining the reasons for your judgments.

2. With a partner or small group, imagine that you are part of a team developing a vision of Canada to present during a forthcoming election campaign. Choose a political party or a national group — real or imaginary — to represent and jot notes about the Canada your party or group envisions. Create a slogan that will appeal to the nationalistic feelings of the public and encourage them to support your party's or group's ideas.

   a) Brainstorm to create a list of words that will attract the support of citizens. Create a 30-second radio announcement that includes your slogan, as well as some of these words, in a description of your vision of the Canada of the future.

   b) Create a one-page leaflet that does the same thing as the radio announcement. Decide what visual images will effectively support your words.

   c) Make up three questions that your group could include in a survey of support for your vision of Canada. Then survey at least 10 people in your family, school, or community. Try to choose people of varied ages and backgrounds.
      - Collate the responses and create a visual, such as a mind map, graph, or chart, to display them.
      - Explain the similarities and differences you detect in the responses.
      - Identify unusual or unexpected responses.

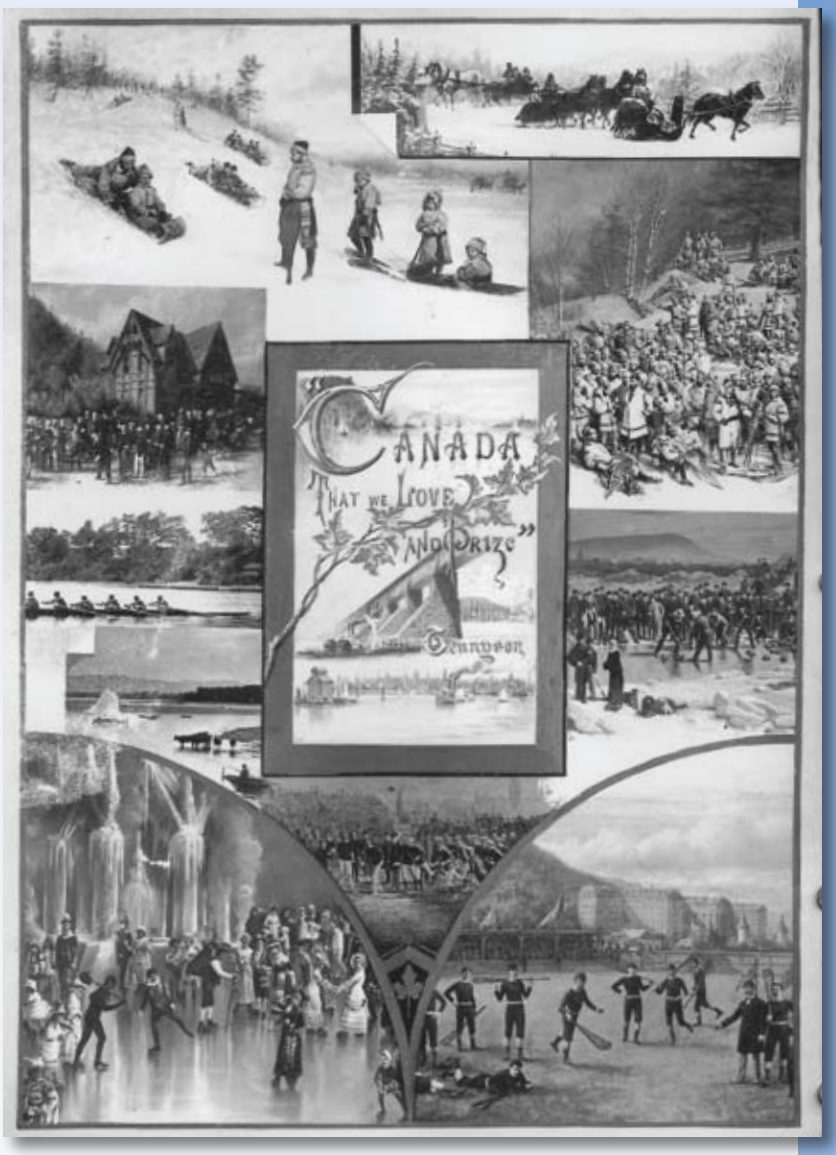
   d) Write a statement that summarizes the information on your visual (e.g., What does the visual tell you about the responses? Are the responses linked to age, origin, or birthplace?).

3. Create two visual images — one from the past and one in the present — to represent your individual, collective, and national identity. Think back to when you entered Grade 7 or Grade 8 and how you viewed these aspects of your identity. Then think about how your ideas about your identity have changed since then. The following questions may help you develop your visuals:
   - What aspects of your past identity, if any, have you modified, abandoned, or retained?
   - Are particular aspects of your identity more important today than they were several years ago?

   Present your visuals to the class either orally or by posting them on a bulletin board. If you choose to post them, include a statement that sums up what they represent.

4. The poster on this page was created in 1882 by William Notman, a famous Canadian photographer. At the time, sports and physical activities were popular — and were viewed as a way of instilling important values in young people. Canadian sporting groups actively promoted the idea that national identity and physical activity were linked. Examine the poster and respond to the following questions:
   a) How does this poster link national identity and physical activity?
   b) Consider the visions of Canada presented in this chapter. Which vision is linked most closely to this poster? Explain the reason for your judgment.
   c) Does the link between national identity and physical activity continue to exist today? Cite examples to support your response.
5. On the opening pages of this chapter, you were asked to identify images you would include on a poster advertising Canada today. Return to the notes you made in response to this question. After reading the chapter, would you change or replace any of the images you identified? If you would not, explain why not. If you would, explain why — and how.

Figure 13-16




## Think about Your Challenge

By now, you have recorded several entries in the journal you are keeping in response to the related-issue question: To what extent should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

Think about the criteria you used when making your comments — and start developing a list of criteria to use as a guide when making the judgment that will become your informed position on this issue.

Share your criteria with some of your classmates, and comment on whether you agree with the criteria they have chosen. When this discussion concludes, revise your own criteria to include new ideas that may have emerged from this discussion. Include your list of criteria in your journal and be prepared to make more revisions as you progress through this related issue.